

Combined with "The Revolutionary Age"

The Communist

All Power To The Workers!

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Five Cents

The Steel Strike

THE strike of the steel workers is a revolt against intolerable conditions, a revolt the explosive forces of which have been accumulating for 27 years.

Since the ruthless, bloody crushing of the Homestead strike in 1892, and particularly since the organization of the Steel Trust in 1902, the workers in the steel industry have been the most abject of slaves.

All efforts of the steel workers to organize unions in the past have been baffled by espionage and discharges. All the most modern methods of fleecing the workers, such as "the task and bonus" system, have been adopted in the steel industry. Wages have been frightfully low, and the workers have been robbed by various company schemes bordering on actual peonage. Steel mill towns are a sort of baronial estate, where church and government are in the pay of the steel barons. Protest was crushed by the triple power of the company secret service, the church and the local governments.

Much capital is being made concerning increases in the steel workers' wages during the war. The figures used are shamelessly garbled. But even these figures tell a terrible story. They try to prove that the steel workers' wages during the past five years have increased 20 per cent more than the cost of living. These figures are not accurate; but let us accept them. In five years the workers' conditions have improved 20 per cent—but these workers five years ago were, according to bourgeois investigators such as John A. Fitch, living in sub-human conditions. Splendid improvement, indeed!

The final answer to all these garbled statements of "improvements" is the workers' revolt itself. The workers are determined to conquer real improvements; and as they struggle for this lesser objective they will develop the consciousness of the larger objective—the conquest of Capitalism.

For the steel strike is much more than an ordinary strike. It is, in the first place, a strike in the basic industry of the nation; and, in the second place, it is a strike of the unskilled, who have not been corrupted by craft unionism and petty bourgeois aspirations, as have the dominating elements of the railway unions. This strike thrusts directly at the heart of Capitalism; and Capitalism realizes the menace.

The general sentiment in the capitalist press, among the employers and government officials is: "It has come to a test. We must crush this strike, in order to assure the submission of the workers in other industries." The strike, according to Senator Thomas, is a "national menace."

The strike is a national menace—a menace to the Capitalism of our nation. There are more than 300,000 men on strike, involving about 20 states—the scope of this strike is unprecedented. In 1912, a strike of 25,000 workers in Lawrence made Capitalism tremble; what might not come of this strike of 300,000, in a basic industry

and among workers the most oppressed in the country?

The steel strike comes as the climax of a series of aggressive strikes that have convulsed the country since the armistice. Every strike has contributed to the general unrest and developed a new spirit of proletarian aggression. The steel strike is the mightiest and most potential of them all—it is not alone a challenge to the most powerful industrial empire in the United States, it is equally a challenge to the government. Victory in this strike means

NO MUNITIONS TO RUSSIA!

The Seattle longshoremen, backed by the Labor Council in their determination to share no responsibility for shipping munitions to kill our Russian brothers, have refused to unload twenty-one cars, approximately 65,000 rifles and machine guns, aboard ship Waterhouse. Stevedoring company turned materials back to government and will not handle.

This action is interpreted by the Seattle Union Record:

"Cases believed to contain ammunition, rifles and machine guns consigned to Russia are sitting unmoved on Pier 5, the Frank Waterhouse & Co. dock, Thursday as the result of a car gang of twelve men walking off the job following their demands to know what the cases contained.

"This action follows the passage of a resolution by the Central Labor Council indorsing the action of waterfront workers in their planned refusal to ship munitions to kill Russian workers.

"According to the men, they reported for work Thursday morning as usual and began loading the cases when the question was asked as to their contents. After some further questioning a customs officer was called and opened some of the cases, one of the workers declared, displaying their war-like contents. The men immediately got together and refused to continue the loading.

"Longshoremen on the waterfront have been warned to keep a careful watch for rifles concealed in innocent appearing packages."

weakening the prestige of Capitalism and the state, and correspondingly increasing the aggressive spirit of the workers.

Capitalism and the state realize the vast issues involved; and they are acting. They are acting according to the good old plan—the use of armed force.

From the first armed force was used against the steel workers during the organization period. Thousands were discharged; dozens of union men and organizers were killed. The strike started peacefully, but the Trust and its government agents immediately resorted to armed force. The armed force mobilized against the strike is enormous; each company has its own guards, consisting of thugs; then scabs are being sworn in as deputy sheriffs; in McKeesport and other cities thousands of "citizens" are being formed into guards, much as the bourgeois White Guards in Russia, Finland, Germany and Hungary. That is not all. These are simply extra-legal armed forces; the legal armed forces consist of the Coal and Iron Police, the Municipal Police and the State Constabulary. It is no exaggeration to say that about 50,000 armed persons have

been mobilized against the strike, and behind it all lurks the army.

But the strikers are not frightened. They are firm, inspired by the struggle and by the spirit of solidarity. Their determination is magnificent, and their numbers daily grow larger.

Officially, it is an A. F. of L. strike, and that is a real danger. The temper of the men and women is uncompromising, they are determined on a struggle to the end. But at any moment the A. F. of L. officials may become cowed by the state, may begin to seek compromise, may break the spirit of the strike and disorganize its forces. They may try to avoid struggle and seek compromise. Gompers is not very enthusiastic about the strike; at least one International Union of the A. F. of L. has threatened to expel any local union that joins the strike; while John Fitzpatrick, chairman of the Strike Committee, declares that the strike will end if an Arbitration Commission meets to decide the issues.

The workers in other industries must realize that this steel strike is their strike, that its issues affect them all. Affiliated trades must join the strike, particularly the railroad workers; the steel strike must become a general strike, forcing Capitalism to its knees. Already some railway unions in the Middle West have refused to transport ore, while three marine unions, 80 per cent of the ships on the lakes transporting ore, have decided for a sympathetic strike, also presenting their own demands.

But the A. F. of L. will discourage making the steel strike general. Warren S. Stone, grand chief of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, speaking on behalf of the Railway Brotherhoods who are favoring the Plumb Plan (which certain half-baked radicals hail as "revolutionary"), declares that the railway unions will under no circumstances engage in a sympathetic strike. That is to say, union railway workers will transport ore and steel for the scabs, thereby directly contributing to break the strike.

The steel workers must watch out for A. F. of L. betrayals. Other workers must realize their duty to the steel strikers. There must be a general strike, solidarity of action.

This strike is of the utmost importance. What may happen is still in the future, but big things may come. This challenge to Capitalism must not end in defeat—a defeat for the whole working class. This gigantic struggle may become the turning point of the American working class movement; the forces of Capitalism may convert the strike into the 1905 of the American proletarian revolution. Who knows?

But this we know, the American workers are preparing to act—are acting. Our task is to participate in this action, to make the strike general, to make it conscious of its larger purposes, to develop the general political strike that will break the power of Capitalism and initiate the dictatorship of the proletariat—all power to the workers!

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Union Revolts

THE Chicago District Council of the Federated Railroad Shop Crafts (railway shopmen) issued a call for an "unauthorized" convention to protest against the miserable compromise of the union officials in accepting the 4c increase in wages. The convention met in Chicago September 25 to express its protest and devise means for action.

Some months ago, the railway shopmen made demands for a substantial increase in wages. The union workers were determined to get the increase by means of a strike. Negotiations were held; President Wilson issued a declaration against the strike, in spite of which large groups of the workers quit their jobs; but the "international" officers of the union compromised, accepted the miserable 4c increase, ordered the suspension of the strike and broke the strike of the men who had acted in spite of orders to the contrary.

This treacherous compromise and betrayal aroused the resentment of the workers in the unions. The men were sullen and resentment flared up against the international officers. This crystalized itself in the call for a convention issued by the Chicago District Council. L. M. Hawver, president of the Council, and J. D. Saunders, secretary, were ordered suspended from the unions of which they are members; but the local unions refused to comply and have been threatened with the revocation of their charters.

The direct acts of this convention are the least important; the vital thing is this revolt against the old union officials, this mass upsurge of union men which, while limited in scope and not yet conscious of larger means and purposes, is of the utmost importance in the movement to rally the American workers for Industrial Unionism and Communist action.

Since the armistice, and under the prevailing conditions of the collapse of Capitalism and the general revolutionary ideology, the American workers have instinctively developed the tendency toward more aggressive and conscious industrial action. This tendency has been sabotaged by the union bureaucracy: in strike after strike, such as the Seattle general strike, the railway shopmen controversy, the proposed general strike in Boston, and now the Steel Strike, the union officials dampen the enthusiasm of the workers, crush the impulse toward larger, aggressive action. The workers have sensed the spirit of the new proletarian struggle, while the union officials still cling to the tactics of the Old Stone Age in the labor movement.

These conditions are producing an intense revolt of the workers in the old unions. They are disgusted with their officials, they sense the limitations of the old unionism and the old tactics; while more and more union officials are uniting with the employers and the state to prevent a revolutionary upflare in the unions

particularly and among the proletariat generally.

This tendency of mass revolt in the unions is one of the most vital of contemporary developments. It is an expression of the growing revolt of the workers, together with the demoralization of the old unionism. Out of this tendency may come great things; and it is a task of the Communist Party to avail itself of this tendency for developing Industrial Unionism and Communist action.

Center of Reaction

INDULGENCE in gracious verbiage has deceived many persons, unconscious of the material forces determining events, that President Wilson was a "friend" of Russia. The United States Government has repeatedly announced the withdrawal of American troops from Russia; but this withdrawal has never materialized, the Government of Wilson furnishing money and munitions to Kolchak & Co.

Now it appears that not only are the American troops not to be withdrawn, but that there has been a campaign to enlist troops for service in Russia, and, this campaign having fizzled, conscripted men are to be used. Furthermore, it appears that President Wilson and his Government are the centre of the reactionary clique that is directing a counter-revolutionary war against Russia.

In the Chicago "Tribune" of September 25, Arthur Sears Henning writes from Washington:

"The United States has undertaken to furnish Kolchak with the principal aid from allied sources, while Great Britain and France have agreed to furnish supplies and other aid to General Denikine, who is the anti-Bolshevist commander in South Russia. The extent and precise character of the assistance the president has promised Kolchak is not known.

"That the president has agreed with the Allies on a plan for support of Kolchak and Denikine in this war on the Bolsheviki was confirmed today at the State Department. Said one official:

"The other Powers are taking care of Denikine, and it is up to the United States to look after Kolchak."

It has been clear for some time that President Wilson was implacable in his determination to wage war against the Communist Republic of Russia. In the Peace Conference Wilson united with Clemenceau against Russia; the United States Government has approved the plans by means of which Japanese capital is consolidating its control of the natural and industrial resources of eastern Siberia, and has been lavishly financing Kolchak &

Co. All this during a time when Wilson was speaking of universal liberty and disarmament, and pleading with our people not to "break the heart of the world."

This situation suggests a number of very interesting questions:

Where does Congress participate in this international brigandage? Or is it sufficient for Autocrat Wilson to act, providing it promotes the supremacy of Capitalism?

These millions of dollars of American

Is universal peace to be realized by means of waging secret and open war against the workers wherever the workers conquer power?

What are the secret agreements with Japan, granting compensations to American Capitalism for "our" government's support of Japanese brigandage in Siberia?

After Kolchak is defeated, which is inevitable, who will repay to the American government the millions upon millions of dollars spent to finance Kolchak & Co.?

What has become of the promises made to the mothers of American troops in Russia about immediate withdrawal?

money are being spent to murder the Russian people and crush their Communist liberty. The Allies demand that the Soviet Republic shall pay the international debts of Czarism—debts contracted for the purpose of crushing the Russian people. The Soviet Government, yielding to the Shylocks of international finance, recently expressed itself as willing to pay these debts. Now an official of the former Czar's Empire is contracting loans, by means of which to crush the Russian people: the Allies, of course, will insist that the Russian people honor these debts!

The situation in connection with the war against Soviet Russia is very simple. International Imperialism, united in the Council of Five, is determined to assure the permanency of its financial and territorial division of the world, thereby assuring the permanency of Capitalism. Soviet Russia, with its inspiration to the workers of the world, threatens this permanency. International Imperialism, accordingly, mobilizes its forces against the Communist Republic of Russia, against the revolutionary movement throughout the world.

That the United States should assume a dominant position in this reactionary war against Russia may surprise liberals, but not the Communist who interprets events by means of Marxism. The representatives of the United States may speak a liberal language, but its Capitalism speaks in the iron tongue of reaction. American Capitalism has definitely emerged into Imperialism; American Imperialism today is the mightiest in the world, having usurped financial world-power. The United States, accordingly, is the centre of world reaction, representing the mightiest and most reactionary Capitalism in the world.

Consequently, American Capitalism has enormous interests at stake in the general international issue of the Russian Revolution; and it is defending that stake, menaced by the oncoming World Revolution.

Leon Trotzky is quoted as saying: "It is not in Finland or Esthonia that the immense world struggle against Capitalism can be fought, but in America and England, and above all in the Far East." Precisely; and particularly in America. The United States is the most consummate and brutal product of Capitalism; it is as merciless against Soviet Russia as it is against its own proletariat on strike. President Wilson, in his tour for the League of Nations, has thrown off the mask: he has openly defended Imperialism and made it clear that Soviet Russia must be crushed. And this task includes the crushing of the American proletariat.

The final struggle against Capitalism, which will assure the World Communist Republic, will be fought out in the United States.

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Boycott the Elections!

THE Left Wing Section of the Socialist Party of New York City, in accord with the plan to capture the old party, recently made contests in the primary elections for its own candidates on the Socialist Party ticket. In a number of districts the Left Wing nominees defeated the old Socialist Party nominees. The Left Wing Section having now almost unanimously become the Communist Party of New York City, these victorious nominees resigned as candidates from the Socialist Party ticket. But the election law prevents the acceptance of these resignations. Therefore, Communist Party comrades will appear as candidates on the Socialist Party ticket.

This apparently complicated situation is being solved very easily. The Communist Party comrades appearing on the Socialist Party ticket will make a campaign urging the workers NOT to vote for them, but to abstain from voting for any candidates. These comrades, accordingly, will campaign against their own elections, but this will mean an uncompromising campaign for revolutionary Communist principles.

The elections this year are a test. They are a test of the Communist claims of elements formerly affiliated with the Left Wing. A. Wagenknecht, the Executive Secretary of the Communist Labor Party, urges Socialist Party locals in Ohio affiliating with his Party to participate in the elections under the name Socialist Party. This is a characteristic expression of vicious Centrism, of wavering between the old and the new, of compromise and inconsistency. Still clinging to the discredited name, Socialist Party! Still playing the old game of votes, votes, votes! And THIS is the Party that claims to represent Communist fundamentals!

The decision of the Communist Party to boycott the coming elections while participating in the campaign is in accord not only with the temporary necessity of absolutely severing all relations with the old Socialist Party, but with the general character of Communist parliamentarism and the prevailing conditions in the proletarian class struggle.

Campaigns and elections are not necessarily interwoven: they may be separated. There is in fact a clear distinction between campaigns and elections; there are moments when the Communist Party will participate in the campaign but boycott the elections, in order to emphasize the mass character of the proletarian struggle. These moments are determined by the general considerations of the class struggle, by the maturity of development of proletarian action against Capitalism, by whether the mass action of the workers at a particular moment may the more rapidly be promoted through abstention from the elections, thereby emphasizing in the minds of the workers the necessity for extra-parliamentary action.

The Communist Party participates in the political campaigns for purposes of propaganda, and in order to emphasize the political character of the class struggle. The workers must be convinced of the futility of the isolated strike against the employers and of the necessity of action against the state by means of general political strikes, culminating in the conquest of the power of the state by the revolutionary proletariat. The Communist Party, accordingly, uses parliamentarism to emphasize the political character of the class struggle, but equally to emphasize the impossibility of parliamentarism conquering the power of the state.

This being our general policy, at particular moments the Communist Party will participate in the political campaign, in order to emphasize the objective—conquest of the power of the state; but will boycott the elections in order to emphasize the means necessary to attain this objective—the general political strikes of

the proletariat and the development of proletarian organs of state power.

The proletarian revolution is a process, each phase developing its own problems and requiring the application of appropriate tactics in accord with Communist fundamentals and life itself. It is the characteristic of the Socialist betrayer of Socialism to evade all actual problems of the revolution. The proletarian revolution is a process; it has its own peculiar problems at particular stages of its development; our tactics, accordingly, must be pliable, living, in accord with the problems of each phase of development. In preliminary stages, we shall find it necessary to boycott the elections while participating in the campaign; in the final stage it may become necessary to boycott parliamentarism completely, as did the Spartacan-Communists in Germany during the elections to the Constituent Assembly.

At this moment, in the United States, the workers are instinctively adopting the tactic of mass action. They realize vaguely the futility of parliamentarism solving their problems: even the conservative railway workers responsible for the Plumb Plan feel that they may have to use the strike in order to coerce the government to accept their plan. The giant steel strike is the most vivid portent in the struggles of the American proletariat, a strike potential of revolutionary action against Capitalism. These mass strikes of the workers are of the utmost importance, the development that must determine the tactics of the Communist Party in the immediate days to come. The United States, apparently, is on the verge of a revolutionary crisis, as in England, where the Communist Party boycotts the elections to Parliament. The Communist Party task is to unify these strikes, to make them adopt larger means and purposes, to develop the consciousness and action of the general political strike. Out of these mass industrial struggles must issue the means and the inspiration for the conquest of power by the proletariat.

These mass strikes are still directed against the employers, although often equally a challenge to the state. The Communist Party must develop the consciousness of action against the state, of the political character of the class struggle which we accomplish by means of participation in political campaigns and our general agitation—but, simultaneously, the Communist Party must emphasize the impossibility of parliamentarism and elections realizing the conquest of power—and this we accomplish by means of a boycott of the elections.

The American workers are emerging into a period of intense and aggressive mass struggles. They must not look to the state for action: they must struggle against the state. They must not depend upon parliamentarism, but must bend parliamentarism to the requirements of the mass struggle. The Communist Party, accordingly, urges: Boycott the elections!

The accomplishment of the revolutionary task—the conquest of the power of the state, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the realization of the Communist Republic—is the vital problem of the Workers of the World, the conscious elements of whom are organizing in the international Communist Party.

This problem and this task are gigantic. They mean nothing short of a transformation of the world, an implacable struggle against Capitalism representing the most powerful class of exploiters in history. We shall meet temporary victory and defeat, a process out of which will come a weakening of Capitalism and a strengthening of the class power of the proletariat. In this struggle, programs and words are not alone necessary: a movement must be judged by its deeds, by its application of program and words. The conception of parliamentarism and elections is a test of Communist understanding and sincerity.

Arbitration

COMPROMISE, miserable and deadening compromise, is bred in the bone of A. F. of L. officials. They can never pursue the policy of consistent, aggressive action: always in the crisis they weaken, and betray.

The General Strike in Seattle was in great shape, the workers determined and united. Then the government intervened, with threats of drastic action; union officials weakened, spoke of agreement and compromise, and contributed directly to the strike's collapse.

Now again, apparently, in the steel strike. This strike has assumed gigantic proportions. Capitalism is aghast at this terrific portent of what may come. Unions not directly affiliated with the unions participating in the strike, such as the Great Lakes Marine Unions, are deciding for a general strike. This steel strike may mark a new epoch in American labor history, if the spirit of the workers is mobilized for definite, uncompromising action.

But even prior to the strike the A. F. of L. officials in control were bent upon compromise. They asked a conference with E. H. Gary of the U. S. Steel Corporation; and when this was refused the order for a strike was issued, in spite of Wilson's plea and because of the determined spirit of the men.

Now the strike is a great fact. But still the A. F. of L. speaks compromise—this time arbitration. At a session of the Senate Committee on Labor, investigating the steel strike, John Fitzpatrick, chairman of the Strike Committee, pledged the end of the strike in the event that the steel concerns submit to arbitration. This is the record:

"Will the men go back to work if the steel company will agree to submit the case to arbitration?" asked Senator Kenyon of Iowa.

"Yes," promptly replied Mr. Fitzpatrick.

"Would the men be willing to lay the case before a commission appointed by the president?" asked Senator Kenyon.

"Yes," responded Mr. Fitzpatrick.

And Fitzpatrick even said the strike could be called off if Gary agreed to arbitrate, and that the men would abide by the decisions of an arbitration commission!

This is frightful weakening. It may break the spirit of the strike. It creates illusions in the minds of the workers concerning arbitration. Nothing permanent is secured from arbitration, which is always determined by fundamental capitalist interests. Arbitration invariably betrays. The value of the strike is not in the immediate concessions secured, but in the reserves developed for action in the days to come.

The steel strike is arousing the spirit of proletarian revolt. The steel workers are sensing their power, developing the consciousness of action. Small concessions secured from arbitration mean nothing, since it destroys the independence and class spirit of the workers. The victory of the steel workers can come only from determined action against Capitalism.

Why arbitration and compromise? The steel workers control the situation, and will control still more as other workers strike. They are developing not alone power for immediate gains, but for larger action in the days to come. Fitzpatrick speaks of the dead and injured among the strikers: but these dead and injured are less than the dead and injured from industry itself. Let the steel workers reject arbitration and compromise: they must conquer, not arbitrate.

To the Workers of the World

THE governments which began the war of plunder five years ago are making an effort to end it now with a predatory peace. The English, French, and American capitalists represented in Versailles have given to the representatives of the German capitalists the so-called peace terms. Versailles becomes a new Brest-Litovsk. Each one of the points of the Versailles peace is a noose to choke one or another nation.

The anger and vengeance of the imperialist bourgeoisie of the victorious coalition know no bounds. The famous organization of the "League of Nations" is being put into practice by the American-Anglo-French bourgeoisie against the will of all the nations of Europe. The bourgeoisie of the Allied Powers is making an effort to cripple Germany. They are cutting off from Germany a whole series of territories; they are taking away the coal from Germany, and the bread; they wish to take away the merchant marine, also to force Germany to pay indemnities of enormous quantity. The bourgeoisie of the Allied Powers which in words fought against annexations of alien territory, is now committing a series of terrible and cynical annexations. They are trading with the colonies which belonged to Germany as with cattle. The imperialists of the Allied Powers have armed themselves with knives and are slicing the flesh of Germany.

But the predatory terms of peace which are dictated to Germany from Versailles are only one of the links in the chain of force used by the Allied Powers to imprison the world. At the same moment when these imperialists are trying to cripple and choke Germany, they are carrying on a murderous attack on the Soviet Republic of Hungary. [This attack, temporarily, has succeeded.]

It is they, the French and English bourgeoisie, who are the main instigators of the Roumanian soldiers at present carrying their White Guard attack against our brethren—the Hungarian workers.

It is they, the representatives of the enlightened French and English "democracy," who are the instigators of those pogroms let loose upon Red Budapest. It is they who are inspiring the Russian Black Hundreds of Kolchak, Denikine and Krasnov in their bloody war against the Russian workers and peasants.

It is they, the Anglo-French bourgeois, who have inspired the German White Guard, led by Noske, Ebert and Scheidemann, to crush the Bavarian Soviet Republic. The imperialists of the Allied Powers put a direct preliminary condition to the government of Scheidemann to crush the Soviet Power in Munich.

It is they, the Anglo-French bankers and generals, who are disarming the revolutionary soldiers in Bulgaria. It is they who are choking the mass movement of the peoples and the revolutionary spirit in Serbia and Slovakia.

International gendarmes — such are the Anglo-French and American imperialists, who claim to be the representatives of world "democracy."

All illusions are broken. The masks are thrown off. Those whom the long and terrible imperialistic war has not taught a lesson, these will have to be taught by that imperialist peace with which the "humanitarians" of Versailles are trying to "enrich" the world. The governments which during the four and one-half years lied to their people about carrying on the war for "self-determination of nations," for "independence" of small peoples, for "freedom and culture," for "democracy,"—these governments are now unmasked as arch-criminals, as the worst kind of slave-drivers, showing mercy to none.

The fairy tale of the League of Nations is dying without having had a chance to

Declaration of the Communist International Against the Versailles Peace.

flourish. After the Versailles peace terms it will be very difficult to catch many workers with the bait of the League of Nations. The League of Nations at whose cradle stands Clemenceau, the butcher, is unmasked before the whole world as a league of murderers, who are nailing to the cross the millions of the laboring masses of Europe.

The Versailles peace, with all its weight, is first of all laid upon the working class of Germany. If the Versailles peace should work at all, it would mean that the working class of Germany would be forced to moan under a double pressure of both its own bourgeois and the slave-drivers of the other nations.

Needless to talk of the fact that the sympathy of the Communist International, the sympathy of the conscious workers of the whole world, is with the German working class. The worker-Communists of all countries will take the Versailles peace terms as a blow to the international proletariat, as an effort which can be only put down by the combined strength of the proletariat of all countries.

The present German government, which in words protests against the Versailles peace, in fact aids the imperialists of the Allied Powers to realize their hellish purposes in relation to the German working class. The executioner Clemenceau has no truer servants in Germany than Scheidemann and Ebert. The Scheidemann and Ebert Party from the first moment of the German revolution humbly danced to the tune of the imperialists of the Allied Powers. Under the direction of Clemenceau, Scheidemann and Ebert sent White Guard armies against Soviet Russia. In order to satisfy the imperialists of the Allied Powers, the Social-Democrats under the leadership of Ebert and Scheidemann killed Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg and with fire and guns crushed the great movement of the German workers to realize Soviet Power. Fulfilling the directions of the London and Paris exchanges, the government of Scheidemann has killed already not less than 10,000 workers-Communists of Germany. Each time when the wave of the workers' movement in Germany rose especially high, prepared to wash away the government of traitor Social-Democrats, Scheidemann and Ebert threatened the starved workers that if Soviet Power should come to Germany the Allies would refuse to give bread to the German people.

The Central Committee of the Scheidemann Social Democratic Party, in its appeal in connection with the Versailles peace, maintains that the Versailles "lesson" is the "best evidence of the correct position of the German Social Democracy on the question of defending the fatherland."

"Socialists of all lands, do you understand at last our way of acting at the time of war?," asks Scheidemann in his appeal.

Oh, hypocrites! Oh, cynics!

Two robbers in 1914 fell on the same prey. One of the robbers proved the more successful. This criminal not only grabbed the whole prey which his competitor wanted, but went into the pockets of his rival. Then the other thief, made benefactor through want and having on his face the expression of innocence, appeals to the world and exclaims, "You see, the conduct of my rival has shown the entire righteousness of my tactics, is it possible that you do not yet understand that we, Scheidemanns, are whiter than the snow of the English mountains?"

The Versailles peace terms have proven to all conscious workers something altogether different. The enlightened workers of the whole world fully realize that

if the German imperialists had been the victors they would have been as unmerciful to the defeated as their rivals are now to them. And then most likely the Hendersons and Renaudels would use the same lying phrases as now Scheidemann and Noske are using.

The Versailles peace terms show us that while Imperialism exists in any country, until then force and robbery will also exist. The Versailles peace terms show the Imperialism of any coalition is equally bloodthirsty. No matter how "democratic" the leaves which they use for covering Imperialism, it remains the incarnation of barbarism and blood lust.

The Versailles peace terms have shown us that social-patriots of all lands have permanently and forever become the servants of the bourgeois. The Versailles peace terms show how meaningless are the hopes of the sympathizers of the Berne yellow "International," of Kautsky and his friends, about the disarmament under Capitalism, about the good and beneficent League of Nations under the wing of Wilson. The Versailles peace terms have shown that the bourgeois itself left for the workers of all lands only one road—the road of world revolution, the road across the corpse of Capitalism.

Workers of France! Workers of England! Workers of America! Workers of Italy! The Communist International appeals to you. Upon you depends the destiny of tens of millions of workers of Austria and Germany. You must say your word now. You must pull out of the bloody hands of your government that murderous knife which they have put over the heads of the German and Austrian workers. You must show that for you the lessons of the five-year war have not been in vain. You must not forget for a moment that the victory of the allied imperialists over the German and Austrian workers means a victory over you, a victory over the workers of the whole world, a victory over Socialism. You more than any now have in your hands the destiny of international Socialism. To you the enlightened workers of the world look. And we are sure that you will fulfill your duty, against the advice of your own Scheidemanns.

Workers of Germany! Workers of Austria! Now you see that you have no choice other than the immediate overthrow of the government of traitors calling themselves Social-Democrats, and in fact acting as the meanest agents of the bourgeoisie. You see now where politics of the Noske-Scheidemann type brought you. You see that your only hope lies in the international proletarian revolution.

But this revolution of the proletariat the Scheidemanns and Eberts are trying in every way to crush. When the Scheidemanns and Eberts call in your name to the international proletariat they will meet no answer other than hatred.

Those people who do not protest by a word against the crushing of Soviet Hungary by the armies of the landowners, those people who near Libau are fighting on the side of the German barons—those people cannot count on support from the international proletariat. In your name should speak, not Count Brockdorf von Ranzau, not the traitor Landsberg, not the executioners, Noske and Scheidemann. While the present German government is in power the quarrel between Berlin and Paris will be only between the bourgeoisie of two coalitions. All the power in your country must soon go into the hands of the workers' Soviets. In your name, workers, Communists must begin to talk.

Then and only then will you be able to save your country, will you be able to count upon full support from the proletariat of all lands.

(Continued on Page 6)

A Mightier American Militarism

A FEW months ago a bill was introduced in the Senate concerning the reorganization of the army of the United States. The authors of this bill are Secretary of War Baker and Chief of Staff March. This bill was discussed recently in the Senate Committee on Military Affairs, and in the near future will be discussed in the Senate.

The aim of this bill is to strengthen and insure the militarization of the United States. This militarism is being forced upon the country, in spite of the fact that armament preparations were supposed to end with the signing of peace. If any one had hopes of this, he should discard these hopes now that the bill of Baker and March is being considered. The authors of this bill have apparently learned a big lesson from German militarism, to "crush" which all the power of the land was mobilized. They know that militarism does not make peace, even with democracy. Therefore they prohibit the intervention of civilians, and even of Congress, in the internal affairs of the army.

In the past Congress decided upon the size of each army unit, cavalry, infantry, artillery, etc. Congress decided upon the budget. Congress appointed committees to investigate whether money for the army was expended as Congress decided. In the near future, if the Baker-March bill passes, conditions will change. The chief of staff works out the expenditures for the entire army. He hands these figures to the secretary of war and the latter through the secretary of the treasury hands the figures to Congress. Neither the secretary of war nor the secretary of the treasury are at liberty to make changes in these figures. Congress must appropriate the required sum wholesale. This sum is divided among the different departments by the secretary of war only

with the assistance of the commander-in-chief. The commander-in-chief superintends the reports of all expenditures. In this way the proposed bill takes away from Congress the only means it had with which it could control an ever increasing militarism. Now this last means—the expenditure of the people's money—is taken away from Congress and given to the commander-in-chief.

The main reason for this bill is to strengthen the power of the General Staff. For this end its membership is very much enlarged. Previous to the war the membership of the General Staff consisted of 55 officers, 2 of whom were Generals, 10 Colonels, 10 Lieut-Colonels, 15 Majors, and 17 Captains. According to the law of May 12, 1917, the number of officers of the General Staff was increased to 91. A new law increased the number of officers of the General Staff to 231. Of these some will have the full rank of generals, 5 Major-Generals, or Lieutenant-Generals, 5 Brigadier-Generals, 41 Colonels, 73 Lieut-Colonels, 89 Majors and 17 Captains.

This means that for the command of a half-million army, $3\frac{1}{2}$ times as many officers are appointed as was necessary previously for a four-million army. This will become clear from the following comparison. Until this time the army of the United States had no officer who had the rank of full general. This bill provides for one full general, who will command the General Staff. Before one major-general was necessary for every two million soldiers, now one major-general for every 80,000 soldiers. At the time of war the entire four million army had no Brigadier-Generals, now a half-million army will have five Brigadier-Generals. Before one Staff Colonel was enough for each 400,000 soldiers, now there will be one Staff Colonel for every 12,000 soldiers. Before one

Lieut.-Colonel was enough for every 210,000 soldiers; now for every 7,000. Now one Major for every 5,600 soldiers; before one Major for every 100,000 soldiers. The result is that in comparison with the number of soldiers in the army the number of Generals increased twenty-five times, the number of Colonels thirty-three times, the number of Lieut.-Colonels thirty times, and the number of Majors eighteen times. Besides this 5 new Brigadier-Generals are appointed and one full General. This increase concerns only the General Staff.

The bill further takes away the power of the Senate to protest appointments. Article 32 says that the "president has the full power to appoint any officer for any service which he finds necessary and for whatever period he thinks advisable." Therefore all these newly formed, well-paid positions will be in the hands of the president a tool for remuneration of all well-deserving citizens who are his servants and valets.

Generally, the General Staff will control the life of not only a half-million army of soldiers, but of thousands of officers of all ranks and titles. The General Staff, according to its own opinion, will be able to force the officers to resign or transfer them to another corner of the world. The General Staff has acted in this way more than once recently. Many officers, knowing this practice of the General Staff, refused to give evidence of any sort to Senate committees investigating military expenses. For these officers the Senate's anger was less important than the anger of the leaders of the General Staff.

The bill gives the General Staff power also over the officers in reserve forces. Even in times of peace any officer in reserve may be taken away from his family, for military service; but this service cannot last more than 25 days.

Industrial Unionism and the Revolution

WAR and revolution have shattered many things besides cathedrals and thrones.

Old theories of social development were blown to the winds with the first shot of the world war. What were considered up-to-date notions of progressive development went the way of the obsolete with the bursting forth of the world revolution in 1917.

Even the professed revolutionists have had to shift their ground and review afresh the relationship of their ideas on industrial organization to the achievement of a social revolution.

The class struggle has been proclaimed, Industrial Unionism has been advocated, and a variety of methods adopted to achieve the organization desired. But in most cases it has been assumed that before a revolution could be achieved it would be essential for the working class to adopt Industrial Unionism.

History has proved this idea to be as wrong in experience as the theory that it would be necessary for all countries to go through a stage of highly-developed Industrial Capitalism prior to a revolution leading to Socialism.

Industrial Unionism is a theory of organization arrived at as a result of the examination of industry, and a consideration of what would be the most effective manner of waging the conflict against the Capitalist class.

That this theory has contributed valuable assistance to the workers in their struggle none can dispute.

But it must never be forgotten that organization is not an end in itself. It is a means to an end: a weapon, something with which to wage a fight for an objective other than itself.

By J. T. Murphy.

From "The Workers' Dreadnought" (Eng.)

However desirable a perfect weapon may be, we are compelled by the force of circumstances to accept the weapon which history provides.

The economic antagonisms in society provide the impelling force which drives us to fight. The conception of a new social order derived from human experience and demanding a social revolution provides us with the objective which must be the determinant of the nature of our activities in the fight.

The failure of many industrial unionists to appreciate these facts has stultified their activities.

A subject class cannot choose either the ideal moment to move or the ideal weapon with which to fight.

Its subjection compels a continuous struggle against odds.

Such has been the struggle of the working class throughout its history. Hampered by its wide distribution, its lack of consciousness of itself as a class, disintegrated by a multitude of minor interests, it has fought onward through the years.

It has never yet set out to achieve anything as an organized class, and never will do, so long as it is a subject class.

Such a movement pre-supposes a general intellectual revolution prior to a social revolution, the thinking in terms of a new order not yet in existence.

Mankind does not act in this manner. Its movements are urged by its elemental needs, and when any social order fails to meet them, it is superseded by another.

The mass moves intuitively in response to the pressure of circumstances and is

launched into revolutionary deeds, unconscious of the fact that they are revolutionary.

It does not follow from these observations that none are conscious of the direction of these movements. But it does follow that they who are conscious of the direction in which things are moving, and are confessedly out to achieve a social revolution, have before them a clearly defined responsibility, i. e., to harness these intuitive movements of the masses that they may lead to social revolution.

When the masses move it is useless to tell them they cannot do anything until they have embraced Industrial Unionism.

Certainly it is all to the good for Industrial Unionist ideas on organization to be applied. The masses, however, will not move because they are Industrial Unionists or trade unionists, but on account of the pressure of circumstances. Under such stress they will use any organization, old or new.

The movement of the masses towards Socialism is the thing that matters.

The value of all ideas on organization will be tested by the degree to which they can be applied in a crisis, in a revolutionary transition, and in the maintenance of the revolutionary victory.

A year of revolution will teach the masses more of industrial organization than fifty years of propaganda.

Social Revolution should be the objective determining our activities.

Industrial Unionism should be the armory from which can be drawn valuable ideas to help in the conflict.

Industrial and political crises should be regarded as the revolutionary situations to be harnessed for social revolution.

The Plea for Communist Unity

THE Communist Labor Party continues its meaningless pleading for Communist unity—by uniting the two Communist parties “on a basis of equality” (whatever this may mean). It has already been made clear that the very creation of the Communist Labor Party was a calculated act against Communist unity; that the bolting delegates from the Socialist Convention were quickly whipped into shape of a “party” so as to be in a bargaining position with either the Socialist Party or the Communist Party.

Always the reservation is made that about two dozen delegates were caught in the flux of the breakup of the Socialist Convention, with no least intention to set themselves in opposition to the Communist Party, in this miserably designed *coup d'état* to out-Communist the Communists.

It is not a question of individuals, nor of one group as against another group. It is a question of representation of membership and principles. When 70-odd delegates, with no relation to one another except that for as many as 70 reasons they did not like the Socialist Party Convention, proceed to start a new party at the moment when practically all of the Left Wing is unitedly engaged in starting the Communist Party, this manœuvre can only be described as dastardly and traitorous on the part of those conscious of the situation.

The Communist Labor Party represents just exactly this: the trick of about a dozen reckless individuals who were in a strategic position to mislead about thirty delegates who were kept away from the Communist Party Convention by deliberate delay and misinformation. The other thirty in this Communist Labor Party gathering were drifters of one kind and another, men and women incapable of decision, and at the moment representing no membership and no set of principles. The dozen conscious misleaders were notorious Centrists; a few were guided by personal venom.

There is said to be no difference between the two Communist parties. The Communist Labor Party has no vestige of principle, Communist or any other kind. Its Convention simply made a poor copy of the program work done at the Left Wing Conference at New York. The few changes in text show in every instance a looser understanding of what is involved. The entire Program Committee of the Left Wing Conference sat in the Communist Party Convention, Fraina, Ruthenberg, Stoklitsky, Batt, Ferguson.

The only new feature in the Communist Labor program is the clause against “autonomous federations.” What is meant by “autonomous”? This is a free-for-all phrase, and can only have definite meaning as defined in a party constitution. We are confident that any careful student will realize that the Communist Party met the federation question with an understanding at once realistic and yet absolutely uncompromising on the principle of party centralization. The Communist Labor Party, on the other hand, has issued a flourish to the effect that it desires to be a revolutionary proletarian party without the proletariat. Because it is a fact that nearly 60 per cent of our wage-workers are of foreign birth, and can only be brought into the Communist movement in this country through the device of language federations. But the Communist Labor Party stands for an American movement—an American Communism! And this party protests its thorough internationalism!

In the work of the Communist Convention, by contrast, will be found not merely a copy of former programs, but the incisive development of a Communist program in relation to actual party functioning; the

development from a program merely in criticism of the Socialist Party to a program of the broader scope of the actual working-class movement in its revolutionary tendencies. Not by vague phrases upon which everything can be appended, but in precise, cogent propositions.

The leaders of the Communist Labor adventure were all fully informed of the Left Wing reunion. Some of them came to Chicago for no purpose other than to fight against the complete reunion of Left Wing forces, realizing that they were bound to be automatically ousted in this amalgamation of forces. There was Gitlow, one of the minority of two on the National Left Wing Council, in opposition to the Joint Call. Also John Reed, an associate editor on *The Revolutionary Age*, in close touch with the situation. Both these individuals were obsessed with a passionate hostility against any move to deal patiently and in the light of the general movement with the problem of the federations (or rather, with the Russian Federation). Both were persona non grata to the federation leaders, and it appeared that these leaders would play an important part in the organization of the Communist Party, therefore Gitlow and Reed turned against the Communist Party. The same of Wagenknecht, Katterfeld, Lore, Lindgren and others.

Whatever was justly chargeable against the Minority Left Wing group which first

To the Workers of the World

(Continued From Page 4)

The time for indecision has passed. Now it is clear to each one of us that it cannot be worse, that the government of social-traitors has brought you to the edge of the precipice.

Workers of Germany and Austria! Know that proletarians of other countries will never believe in the German Social-Democracy, that Social-Democracy which did not utter one word of protest at the moment when the government of Wilhelm Hohenzollern forced upon Soviet Russia the Brest-Litovsk peace.

Workers of Germany and Austria! Know that if the Brest-Litovsk peace forced upon Russia in 1918 collapsed so soon, it is because the Russian workers and peasants overthrew the government of the bourgeoisie and social traitors and took the power into their own hands. Only due to this were they able comparatively quickly to break the Brest-Litovsk noose.

World proletarian revolution—this is the only saviour for the oppressed workers of the world!

Dictatorship of the proletariat and the organizations of Soviet Power—this is the only escape for the proletariat of the whole world from the Versailles methods.

While Capitalism exists there can be no real peace. Permanent peace will be possible only on the ruins of the bourgeois state.

Long live the uprising of the workers against oppression! Down with the Versailles peace, down with the new Brest-Litovsk! Down with the government of social-traitors!

Long live Soviet Power throughout the entire world!—The Executive Committee of the Communist International, G. Zinoviev, Chairman.

issued the call for the Communist Convention, it was only the National Left Wing Council which undertook an actual combat against this Minority in respect to these charges, without making that combat one against the Communist Party. It was this part of the Left Wing which made the fight against secularism within the Communist Party Convention, that is, the National Left Wing Council and over 30 delegates who joined themselves with the Council members. This group fought against Federation extremism and against Michigan scholasticism — and fought to a successful finish, while the others ran away from the fight, calling their foolish little side-show an opposition camp! The Federation majority in the Communist Convention yielded to principle, and the clear-cut work of this Convention was made possible because of the effective criticism by the organized minority. It was the opposition of the National Council group to the Federation extremists which won them respect; while the Michigan truckling to the same group won them nothing but contempt. There is no Russian Federation dominance in the Communist Party. There is a clear case of control in the spirit of the general movement, without tinge of secularism or cliquism.

The 10,000 members unrepresented in either of the two real conventions at Chicago, most of these members from the Western States, will settle the question of unity without need for diplomatic negotiations. They will not abide by the illusion of a Communist Labor Party, which is bound to disappear as quickly as it came to life. These members will join the Communist Party, or remain with the Socialist Party. A few locals, hearing a garbled version of what happened at Chicago, may join for a short time the third party. But the party will have no more cohesion than its Convention, which fell apart within three or four days, after a few preliminary skirmishes.

Of over 70 delegates for whom the “unity” pleaders profess to speak, more than half were at all times more interested in a dicker with the old Socialist Party than in joining themselves with the Communist Party. That was the significance of the 37 to 31 vote against consideration of joining with the Communist Convention as the first order of business for the bolting delegates. There was the further intent not to open any negotiations until it could be made a gang proposition instead of a delegate proposition, regardless of the palpable fact that most of the bolting delegates were absolutely without mandate or membership to bring them into the Communist Convention.

The Communist Party is started in repudiation of the old Socialist ideal of numbers regardless of understanding or activity. The Communist Party wants only Communist unity. The Communist Labor Party is no organization with which the Communist Party could ever have any dealings. The Communist membership which failed to obtain representation at the first Communist Convention, because of the short time intervening between the publication of the Joint Call and the Emergency Socialist Convention, is rapidly aligning itself with the Communist Party, in spite of the *coup d'état* of the Centrists.

It is only the membership unity which makes the least difference. And for this unity the Communist Party is striving every day. Nothing more complicated is needed for this consummation than applications for charters and for membership in the Communist Party.

The Party Organization

ALTHOUGH the Executive Committee of the German Language Federation is trying to force the German branches into the Communist Labor Party, they are refusing to follow their "leaders" into that soap-bubble organization. The first branch chartered by the Communist Party was the German Branch of St. Paul.

Local Minneapolis, Minn., has endorsed the program and constitution of the Communist Party.

The German branch of Cleveland, which has over 400 members, unanimously endorsed the Communist Party, after two meetings, at the first of which C. E. Ruthenberg, Executive Secretary of the Communist Party and Alfred Wagenknecht of the Communist Labor Party spoke; the second meeting was addressed by Fred M. Friedman, Organizer for the Communist Party German Federation, and Max Bedacht, member of the Executive Committee of the Communist Labor Party. The branch got all the facts from both sides and then unanimously endorsed the Communist Party.

Local Cuyahoga County (Cleveland), last Sunday held a convention in which all the branches of the organization were represented on the basis of one delegate for each ten members. A. Bilan, member of the Executive Committee of the Communist Labor Party, and Alfred Wagenknecht, Executive Secretary of the same party, were given forty-five minutes to present their case, and C. E. Ruthenberg spoke for the same length of time as the representative of the Communist Party. The result was a vote of 178 to 3 for affiliation with the Communist Party, one of the three votes for the Communist Labor Party being that of Wagenknecht. This means the organization of a Communist local of 2,500 members.

The German Branch of Ft. Wayne is for the Communist Party.

So is the German Branch of Vincennes, Ind.

The German Branches of Passaic and Newark, New Jersey, are united for the party.

Lettish Branch No. 2 of Cleveland, of which A. Bilan, member of the Executive Committee of the Communist Labor Party is a member, voted 26 to 6 for the Communist Party after hearing his report on why he did not attend the Communist Convention as instructed.

The Twenty-Eight Ward Branch of Local Cook County, of which two Chicago delegates to the Communist Labor Party are members, decided with only one dissenting vote to become a Communist Party branch.

Nineteen Massachusetts branches have asked for their Communist Party charters. The state is solid for the Communist Party.

The Communist Party situation in New York City is excellent. A membership meeting held Saturday, September 29, decided by a unanimous vote of 398 (none against) to affiliate with the Communist Party, after hearing the report of the delegates to the Convention. The Left Wing of Queens County is solid for our Party, with a membership of over 600; while the Bronx has been reorganized, with three-fourths of the Left Wing membership joining the Communist Party, 1,000 dues books having been ordered. In Kings County the official machinery may be retained for the Communist Labor Party, since it is in the control of Centrists such as Lore, Pauly and Whitehorn, but at least two-thirds of the members will affiliate with the Communist Party.

Four branches of the German Federation in New York have already repudiated the Centrist Federation and joined the Communist Party.

Not a single branch in New York City has joined the Communist Labor Party. A few branches are staying out of both parties and carrying on a "unity" campaign. But the Communist comrades in New York, who may be temporarily misled by the Reed-Gitlow combine will soon realize that there is one way to real Communist unity—by joining the Communist Party.

WE DIDN'T MEAN IT!

The printer last week made us say in our front page organization notes that any branch of the

C. E. Ruthenberg, Executive Secretary
1219 Blue Island Avenue, Chicago.

"Socialist Party or the Socialist Labor Party which endorses the program and constitution of the *Socialist Party*," etc. Of course we didn't mean it. The section of the constitution in question reads:

Any branch of the Socialist Party or the Socialist Labor Party which endorses the program and constitution of the *Communist Party* and applies for a charter before Jan. 1, 1920, shall be accepted as a branch.

Branches which affiliate under the clause above are not required to pay the initiation fee of 50 cents for their members, but new Communist Party dues books should be issued to all members at once. Dues must be paid beginning with the month of affiliation irrespective of any advance payment to the organization previously affiliated with. If a member is in arrears he may purchase Communist Party stamps to cover the arrearage.

The part of the Communist Party dues cards carrying the transfer record of the member should be used to indicate the member's previous affiliation and length of membership.

Communist Party state organizations are established in the following states:

Connecticut: H. I. Costrell, State Secretary, 52 Elliott Street, New Haven.

Massachusetts: Marion E. Sproule, State Secretary, 885 Washington Street, Boston.

Michigan: Oakley C. Johnson, 1314 Volland Avenue, Ann Arbor.

New Jersey: Walter Gabriel, 50 Hobson Street, Newark.

Branches in the above states should send their charter applications to their state offices and order dues stamps through their state secretary. Federation branches should send for charters to the secretary of their organization.

A fee of \$1.00 should accompany each charter application to pay the cost of printing and postage in connection with the issuance of new charters.

MINUTES OF THE CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE SUNDAY, SEPT. 7, 1919.

Comrade Ferguson elected chairman.

C. E. Ruthenberg, secretary.

Present, all members but Comrade Petras.

Motion that we proceed to elect the Executive Council. Carried.

Comrade Wicks, Schwartz, Karas, Ferguson and Dirba elected. These together with Comrades Ruthenberg and Fraina constitute the Executive Council.

Motion, that we elect an associate editor of "The Communist" and "Communist International." Carried. Comrade I. E. Ferguson elected.

Comrade Stilson was given the floor and stated that the Lithuanian Federation Convention was to be held in Brooklyn, N. Y., on Sept. 27, and suggested that the party send delegates to officially represent it. Comrades Lovestone and Bitelman elected.

Motion, that we elect two delegates to attend the convention of the Jewish Federation at Philadelphia, Oct. 9th, 10th, 11th. Carried. Comrades Cohen and Hourwich elected.

Motion, that we elect two delegates to attend the South Slavic Convention at Chicago, Sept. 12th. Carried. Comrades Hourwich and Ferguson elected.

Motion, that the Central Executive Committee take charge of the defense of all the comrades arrested and that we establish a Legal Bureau to defend party members against prosecution. Carried.

Motion, that the party undertake the defense of Comrade Batt. Carried.

Motion, that Comrade Ferguson be appointed counsel for the party. Carried.

Motion, that the Executive Council shall constitute the Legal Bureau. Carried.

Motion, that standard wage of \$45.00 per week for persons with families and \$35.00 per week for employes without families be established for the positions of Executive Secretary, Editors, Organizers and Translator Secretaries. Carried.

Motion, that members of the committee who live in New York constitute the sub-committee of the central executive committee. Lost.

Motion, that members of the Central Executive Committee and Translator Secretaries be used as organizers wherever possible. Carried.

Motion, that Bertram Wolfe be appointed organizer for the state of New York.

Amendment, that we request the New York members to make a recommendation for organizer for New York.

Amendment to amendment, that the New York members of the committee constitute a committee to organize a District or State Organization. Amendment to the amendment carried.

Motion that Comrade Cohen act as secretary of the New York Committee. Carried.

Motion, that the Executive Council be authorized to divide the country into districts for the purpose of organizing District and State Organizations. Carried.

Motion, that we endeavor to have the members of the Party develop a Co-operative Printing Plant. Referred to the Executive Council.

Motion, that we appoint as a Press Bureau, the editors of the national, state and Federation Party papers, and that the national editor act as secretary of the Bureau. Carried.

Motion, that we print a pamphlet containing the correspondence in regard to unity with the bolting delegates and that it contain the program and constitution of the party and be mailed to all locals with a charter application. Carried.

Motion, that Comrades Ferguson and Fraina be appointed editors of the Manifesto and that it, together with the program, be printed in pamphlet form. Carried.

Motion that we instruct the Executive Council to take steps to publish the stenographic report of the Convention Proceedings. Carried.

Motion, that the Executive Council act as the Special Committee called for by the Convention actions. Carried.

Motion, that the Central Executive Committee meet again on the first Saturday in November. Carried.

Motion, that the Executive Secretary endeavor to arrange meetings for the members of the committee while en route to the meetings of the committee. Carried.

Motion, that the Executive Secretary, in cooperation with the Executive Council, be authorized to secure new headquarters. Carried.

Motion, that Emergency Meetings of the Central Executive Committee may be called by majority vote of the committee or by the Executive Council. Carried.

Motion, that the work of the Central Executive Committee be carried on through executive motions, which shall be held open for fifteen days, and which may be accompanied by 300 words of comment. Members of the Executive Council may have adverse comment to same extent sent out with the motion. Carried.

Motion, that the funds of the party be deposited in a bank and that all bills be paid by check signed by the Executive Secretary and countersigned by one of the members of the Executive Council. Carried. Comrade Ferguson designated to countersign checks with Comrade Schwartz as alternate.

Motion, that the party take over the "Communist" and "Revolutionary Age" and all their assets and liabilities. Carried.

Motion, that Comrade Batt continue as secretary for one week. Carried.

Comrade Elbaum made a statement in regard to the printing plant of the Polish Federation, requesting that when speed was not necessary printing be given to the plant. This was referred to the Executive Secretary with a favorable recommendation.—C. E. RUTHENBERG, Executive Secretary.

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in Promoting the Proletarian
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